2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38
Kagoro
Kafanchan

According to Meek, the Kafanchan (occasionally written by him "Kabbanchan") tribe, located in the immediate vicinity of Kafanchan Town, are an "offshoot" of Kagoro. Smith notes that Kagoro seem to have regarded Kafanchan as friends and allies in times past.

The most recent figures available specifically for Kagoro of Jema'a and for Kafanchan are those compiled by A. B. Mathews in 1934:

	Village	*Population*
Kagoro	Tafam [81]	887
	Tukun Kasa	250
	Tukun Tozo	388
	Ungwan Kagoro [82]	146
	Total	1,671
Kafanchan	Total [83]	971

At the time of Mathews' investigation, Kagoro of Jema'a were administered through three village headmen (Tafam, Tuku, and Ungwan Kagoro). In 1950 Administration was encouraging the formation of a tribal council as a means of uniting whatever factions may have existed among Kagoro in the District. Kafanchan appear sometimes to have been administered through the heads of their four villages, sometimes through a "tribal chief"—an institution alleged to date back to their submission to Kajuru. At present, they are said to have elected to join with the three Kaje villages of Jema'a District to form a local council.

Traditions: Social Structure[84]

Kagoro are divided into two major groups or "moieties" on the basis of their traditions of origin. One of these bears the name of Ankwei:[85] this group is patrilineally descended from ancestors who left the High Plateau to the north-east of Kagoro District, resided for a time in the vicinity of Nimbia and eventually retired to the safe heights of the Kagoro massif (about 1700, according to Smith's estimate).[86] From the account given by Smith it seems not unlikely that, while at Nimbia, Ankwei may have been simply a localized clan or clan segment participating with other similar groups in a tribal organization the major centre of which lay on the High Plateau, for example, at Jal, or Shonong (Oshono), or Bachit, or Riyom; on Kagoro rock, however, where Ankwei would virtually have lost all contact with the Plateau homeland, Ankwei-Kagoro "split into three divisions, Zafan, Mingio and Atswam," according to the tradition ascribed by Smith to "the men of Zafan." These seem likely to have been localized exogamous groups (cf.

[81] Tafa, according to Tremearne; Tafan, in the Census of 1930 Village Directory.

[82] The first three villages named claim to antedate all Kagoro settlements in Kagoro District, Zaria; the inhabitants of what Mathews calls "Ungwan Kagoro" are recent immigrants from Kagoro District, said to have come seeking to escape persecution from a District head later deposed. No "Ungwan Kagoro" appears on present-day village lists at Kafanchan, and it is to be supposed that these immigrants reformed themselves, after Mathews' investigation, into a number of villages: in addition to the first three named above, Administration recognized Akau, Chenji, Daudu, Godogodo, Kato, and Kowai as Kagoro settlements in 1950. It is not known whether immigration from Kagoro District continues.

[83] Kafanchan Town is said originally to have been a Kafanchan settlement, but here they have been largely displaced by "stranger" elements. Kafanchan villages recognized as such by Administration are: Garaje, Ungwar Adam, Ung. Mamudu, and Ung. Sigari (Ringari on Forestry Reconnaissance Map of the Division dated May, 1948).

[84] A field study by M. G. Smith, who appears to have taken fully into account the earlier work done by Meek at Kagoro, is heavily drawn upon in this section.

[85] No connection with Ankwe (more properly Kemai or Goemai) of Shendam Division, Plateau Province, can be traced.

[86] Tradition recorded at Kagoro: it is not known whether Tuku and Tafam in Jema'a District are Ankwei, or constitute one or more other similar groups perhaps not represented among Kagoro of Kagoro District.

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38
Kagoro

not a traditional entity." Smith's field data bear out Cole's statement that in 1905 the ritual leaders designated a man of Kamang when the British enquired after a chief. It would appear that the chieftaincy developed in a contact situation, and it seems to be more than a mere coincidence that a man of Kpashan, the "ritually inferior" moiety should have been put forward, when such a move is seen to conform to a pattern to which the well attested exceptions are rare.[73] Smith notes that the chieftaincy has progressed in two generations "from . . . a thing of derision" to "an object of competition," and states that the present chief has developed a system of councils integrated with the clan organization and with the two main groups produced by culture contact, the village chiefs, and the literate young men. Three delegates—the village chief, a village elder, and a literate young man—are selected by each village council, and these delegates meet with the chief every three months to form the tribal council, in which common affairs of interest are discussed and proposals made. Village councils are composed of three similar persons from each clan—the clan head, another elder, and a literate young man—but meet under the village chief more frequently. Proposals accepted by the tribal council are referred back to village councils and, from them, go to the level of clan discussion, the popular feeling being expressed at the next meeting by the delegates, when decisions for action are taken.

No detailed information is available on form of settlement, though the implication of all accounts seems to be that compounds and *kwai* are fairly widely scattered, apart from a few concentrations (as at Fadan Kagoro in the vicinity of the railway station): this situation is incident to Administration's dispersal, early in this century, of the hill villages (in all probability, more compact), to the local system of land tenure and to farming methods (shifting cultivation). No Kagoro village to-day is anything like simple in structure: of the villages analysed above only Dussai, Kadarko, Mafok, and Makabun are entirely Ankwei (no village is entirely Kpashan), and each of these constitutes a collection of *kwai*, while the remaining seven villages are structurally complex entities with representatives of both moieties.

In general, it appears that one Ankwei *kwai* in each village is recognized by all other *kwai* in the village as ritually paramount:[74] each *kwai* has its own leaders, but the leaders of the paramount (because senior in the area) *kwai* in the past, at least, were the leaders of the village; according to Smith, each village has responded to Administration by casting up a civil or secular chief, whose prestige and authority have steadily grown to some extent at the expense of the power of the priests.[75] At the present time the chief duty of the "community-chief" (title, *agwom*) is "to provide members of the community with land and house-sites for settlement."[76]

Similarly, what might be termed a secular territorial unit has emerged to mediate between the *kwai*, as a territorial unit, and the village: this is the ward (Hausa, *ungwa*), a unit which Smith appears to regard as having been defined entirely arbitrarily and by Administration. It would seem that a ward may include within its boundaries several contiguous *kwai* or even lineages, whether or not related, thus cutting across *kwai* boundaries.[77] It is strongly implied, if not stated, that these wards have civil heads.

The title of the chief priest of the village is *tienwhop*, to use Smith's ortho-

[73] Cf. footnotes on Warjawa organization in Gwaram (Kano), p. 26, above.

[74] How Kata lineage of Kadau *kwai*, Kpashan moiety, at Fadan Kagoro, shares in Ankwei ritual (see p. 90, above) there is not specified.

[75] No information is available regarding the principle upon which this functionary was originally chosen (especially the moiety from which chosen).

[76] It is surprising that the *agwom* should be a recent innovation in view of Kagoro's tradition of a Plateau origin; among Aten and Birom in their Plateau homeland, *gwom* = priest chief. Data from Kaje tribe, as from Katab, appear to agree with Kagoro in this.

[77] Smith indicates, however, that though in the villages members of a clan may share a clearly defined area, the farms of members of distinct *kwai* are commonly interdigitated, outside the villages. Cf. discussion of wards in Ningi District, p. 15, above.

The Katuka has administrative, but not judicial functions. In the normal course of events his duties are limited to the collection of taxes, and the installation of hamlet-heads (Village-area heads are installed by the Emir). The Wakili in general simply relays instructions to Village-area heads from the Katuka; the official scribe is in charge of the tax census of the area. 631

The post of Village-area head (Magaji) is a new one, dating from the time of the transfer of certain Kaje villages from Jema'a to Zaria. The Magaji transmits instructions from the Katuka to the hamlet-heads of his area. He has his own police force, and several titled messengers. Judicially, also, he has some authority, can settle minor disputes and inflict small fines. Further, disputes between members of any single hamlet in his area may be brought before him when the hamlet-head concerned is unable himself to effect a settlement. If similar difficulties arose between two Village-areas both Magadai concerned would meet and attempt to reach a friendly settlement: if their efforts failed, the matter would then be brought to the tribal court, of which all Magadai are members, three constituting a quorum: appeal from the tribal court lies with the Emir. It is said, however, that in relation with the hamlet-heads the authority of the Magaji is recognized but limited. He can exert authority only through them (outside his own personal hamlet) and will take no part in the collection of tax in their areas. 622 692

Major emphasis is laid on the duties of the hamlet-head as collector of taxes, a percentage of which he receives. He is also responsible for seeing that public works are performed within his own area. As suggested above, he also has certain judicial functions, particularly in secondary marriage, where he takes the girl and her father to the magaji, when *idda* begins and also when it ends.[111] For this he is given approximately five shillings.

The Madaki may be characterized as a lesser edition of the hamlet-head. 623 ●

According to Reynolds: " None of these civil heads has a recognized council, but all informally consult with influential elders and senior relatives, particularly in affairs concerning tribal custom, when disputes arise: as will be seen, this is less surprising when it is learned that local groupings of all sorts are also kinship groupings, as a general rule."

As already indicated, the " tribal sections " or clans are localized (see table, above). These are segmented into a number of successively smaller, less comprehensive lineage groups, down to the " minimal lineage ", the extended family inhabiting a single compound: all these likewise constitute local groups, the lineage of second order (" major lineage ") generally occupying a single village or hamlet (and being most often the exogamous unit), and that of the third order (" minor "), a ward. Thus, it will be seen that the Village-area head is the organ of a body of kinsmen, and the hamlet-head one of a still more tightly knit group, closely related to all his ward heads within the hamlet. 614 621 613

Fusion as well as fission, however, occurs among Kaje as among Kagoro; immigrant lineages are reported assimilated to lineages traditionally " of one language," maintaining in effect a kinship relationship alongside a local relationship and a tradition of alien origins. 613

Before conquest by Kajuru and/or Fulani, the effective grouping in Kaje society seems to have been the clan, as a " maximal lineage ", authority in which was vested in the *atiyinkwap*, or approximately " father of the group " (cf. Kagoro, above), still recognized as a ritual authority and held to be directly descended from the founding ancestor through primogeniture. His position normally passes from father to son or from elder brother to younger. If the latter, the son of the elder brother would inherit the position on the younger brother's death. The *atiyinkwap* is the final authority in all matters concerning the welfare of the lineage, offences involving mystical sanctions, rites for fertility and rain or for warding off death and disease. After he has spoken, nobody would dare to disobey for fear of incurring mystical retribution. Similarly, within the major lineages which compose the clan 614 613

[111] Re *idda*, see Kagoro, p. 100, above.

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38
KAGOMA

Linguistically, Kagoma are impossible to classify with any certainty: the view has been expressed that they are connected, perhaps distantly, with Katab, but it appears that only a few words are available for comparison. On the basis of these it is perhaps far-fetched to suggest that Kagoma language may be more closely related to the Jaba than to the more typical languages of the Katab Group, such as Kaje or Katab, but such a conclusion would not be unexepected, in view of the proximity of the two peoples.

Social Organization

Kagoma are said to have capitulated early to the Fulani, though they appear to have revolted frequently against Moslem exactions, perhaps because of their very poverty and the rugged character of their environment. Villages were commonly perched upon the inselberg formations which characterize the area, and so were relatively easy to defend, but at the same time easy to besiege and difficult to flee from when their defences were pierced, so that the Fulani were able from time to time to decimate the population of the area.

In times of peace the individual villages dealt directly with the Moslem District head; under Administration this relationship has been preserved in its essentials. Kagoma have, nevertheless, been administered in various ways, originally as a separate District, but since 1916 first as a joint District with a large section of the Kaje now in Zaria Province, to which Yeskwa were subsequently attached and, finally, since the transfer of Kaje north of Kafanchan to Zangon Katab District of Zaria in 1934, with Yeskwa alone.

Very little is known of the organization of Kagoma, apart from the facts set down by Mathews that each village has both a chief (*kpob*) and a priest (*gbuboga*). According to Mathews, the village head is said to be an indigenous institution, selected from the collateral lines of one particular family by a general meeting of elders (*bukwana*) and adults, including those from hamlets which have sprung from the parent village concerned. The man chosen will not necessarily be an old man, but he should have reached man's estate and be able to " acquit himself properly." In former times he could relinquish office with the consent of the elders when he felt that he was getting past his work. " The priest has a different status and is undoubtedly an earlier conception. He chooses his own successor (a younger brother or son), but this is his own business and not that of the elders though they could probably bring the force of public opinion to bear. The idea of a chief and priest as separate entities is now ingrained; even now the priest has much more real power than the chief, who will act only on the advice of the council of elders."

Main Cultural Features

Ames, writing of Kagoma cultural affiliations, for the most part merely summarizes Temple's earlier account, stating that " their birth, marriage and burial customs are similar to those of the Kaje-Jaba-Katab Group of tribes," more particularly the Jaba, it would appear.[139] Their " dodo " cult, which Ames tends to accept as a relatively recent innovation, bears a distinct resemblance to the Kaje *obwai*. In their house-building, and also their tribal marking, Kagoma conform to general Katab norms: just as the tribal marks seem to have spread over the entire region from a Katab or Kaje centre, Tremearne was of the opinion that the distinctive Katab house-type must have originated in Kaje or Kagoma, for here he found it universally used, in contrast with, say, practice in Kagoro and Moroa Districts.

The most notable known difference between Kagoma and typical tribes of the Katab Group lies in the fact that Kagoma women do not wear the *oyam* in any form (unless they have adopted it in recent years); neither do they wear leaves. Temple describes their attire as a " loincloth," and Tremearne as " a little strip of cloth."

[139] Another feature mentioned by Ames brings to mind Jaba: " They venerate a Supreme God who is connected with the sun."

unit, however, who wishes to take up a portion would have to seek the permission of the District Head. 423 311

36. Again, if a stranger comes into the district and lives there for a sufficiently long while to become accepted as one of the Kagoro themselves then he can be loaned land to build a house on by anyone who cares to lend him it. It is *loaned*, not given or sold. If, however, a stranger were to come to the district for the first time and wished to do the same thing the would-be lender would first of all have to obtain the District Head's consent. 609 423 426

37. There was an old site in the Agwan village unit formerly used by Railway Construction Workings. When the Railway Construction moved on to Kafanchan the Agwan villagers returned to the site. The site, however, was very convenient as a building site and the former District Head in consultation with his Village Heads decided to allocate it as such. This decision was accepted. More recently a farmer in the neighbourhood protested against a farm of his being so allocated for further plots. The Elders who were collected and consulted upheld the decision that the District Head was entitled to decide that the land should be used for this purpose and that custom would agree (cf. the Hausa proverb—*Gari ya kore gona*). Similar circumstances arose recently in the Kpak village unit where specific lands were ' set aside ' by the District Head for Hausa and Ibo enclaves. They did not want indiscriminate settlement by outsiders and so decided to keep them fixed in a specific area. 631 622 623 423

38. It must be remembered that in no one of these circumstances could the District Head be said to have acted in accordance with his traditional powers. He is not a traditional entity. He has acted as representative of and in consultation with his Elders who are the representatives of tradition and who, by consent, have acted in novel circumstances as they would have acted traditionally. It is of great interest to note that these somewhat primitive people seem to be in the process of evolving " central powers " very similar to those accepted by customary law in the Emirates. Whether or not, as mentioned above, this is from within or a mere copying it is difficult to say. It must be remembered, however, that they are somewhat backward people. the Elders are very conservative, have a considerable say in matters and are very independent minded. It is fairly certain that the District Head could not move in such matters without their definite consent. 631 622 [623] 167 423 609

39. Though there appears to be a certain amount of intermingling by and absorption of non-Kagoro elements coming Immigration.